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THE ANTI-THINKING LAW

Anti-Communist law (the unconfused part) is termed illegal

By Lawrence Emery

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER last Tuesday, Aug. 24, stood on the steps of an Air Force base headquarters building near Denver, put his hands behind his back and announced to newsmen:

> "I have today signed S. 3706, An Act to Make Illegal the Communist Party and to Prohibit Members of Communist Organizations from Serving in Certain Representative Capacities."

The N. Y. **Times** reported that "the President appeared in a cheerful mood."

NOBODY KNOWS . . . : But if the cheerful President knew what he had signed into law, he was one of the few persons in the U. S. who did. Even the lawmakers—whose blindly frantic eagerness to outdo each other in slaying the Red dragon now stands as one of the more disgraceful episodes in the history of Congress—did not know what they had wrapped up in S. 3706. The N. Y. **Times** reported the day before Eisenhower signed it:

> "Available drafts of the final text of the measure were not complete and were confusing. The text that went to the White House was never available to the whole of Congress nor to the press and public. There were piecemeal drafts of conflicting bills and amendments. The guiding drafts from which Congress worked in its drive for final passage did not include some of the amendments that had been approved."

By last Wednesday a final text of the measure was still not available to the public. But if the measure, which was adopted unanimously by the Senate and with only two dissenting votes in the House, was a garbled patchwork of confusion, its intent was clear: to outlaw the Communist Party, to subject its members to loss of certain citizenship rights and possible prosecution, and to destroy any labor union deemed by the Attorney-General to be "Communist-infiltrated." According to the President, all this was to be accomplished "by means that are fair, just and in accordance with our Constitution."

BILL OF ATTAINDER? Because of the total confusion surrounding the inception, the enactment and the signing of the bill, first comments were few. A Communist Party spokesman denounced it as "profoundly unconstitutional" but withheld a formal statement until the final text and the President's comments could be studied. He added that the Party will continue to function as a legal entity while seeking to invalidate the law. The **Daily Worker** reported:

> "It was understood in labor circles that several unions are considering testing the constitutionality of the law without delay."

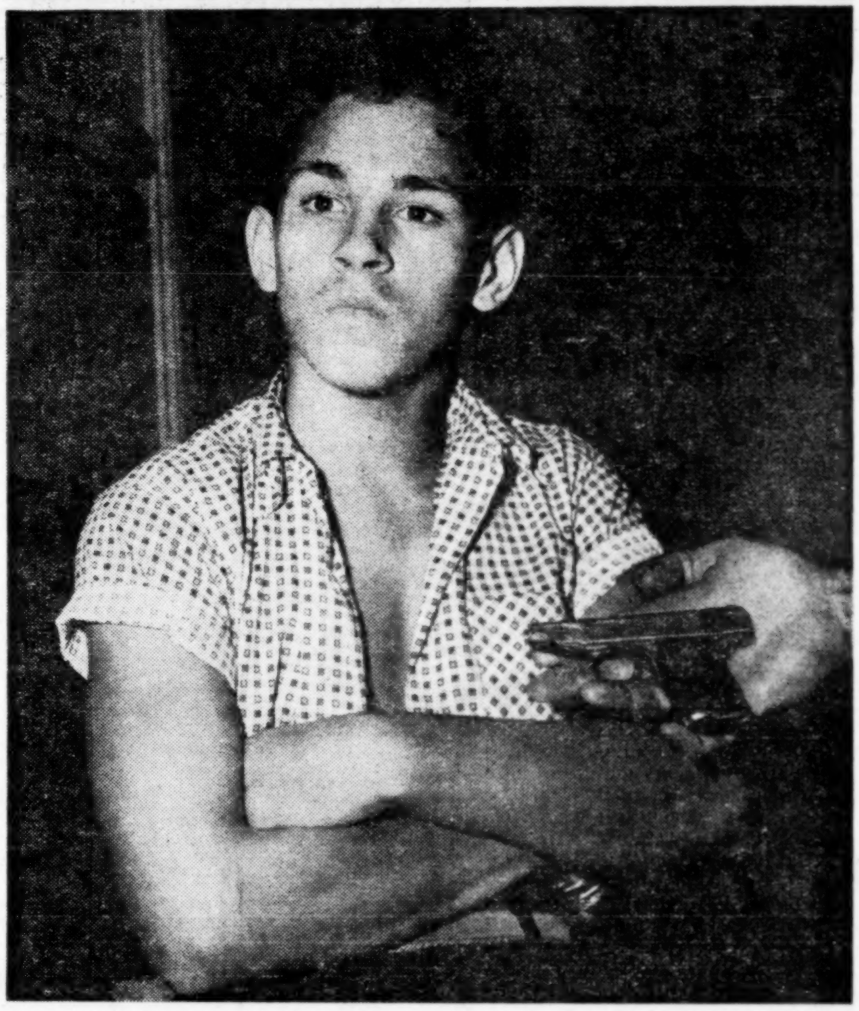
Labor atty. Victor Rabinowitz said:

> "As to the part of the bill referring to the Communist Party, to the extent that it is not incomprehensible, it is a bill of attainder, and unquestionably will be declared unconstitutional.
>
> "As for the labor union provisions, they likewise have the character of a bill of attainder, and in addition represent an unconstitutional attempt at federal licensing of labor unions and interfere with the right of working men to choose their own collective bargaining agents."

ALL IN ONE DAY: Frank Serri, a leading New York attorney, said:

> "In passing that bill and in signing it, Congress and the President have done more to destroy our Constitution in one day than the Com-

(Continued on Page 10)



They call themselves the "Young Sinners"

A 15-year-old Bronx boy, his face a mixture of defiance and fear, is confronted with a gun which, police say, he used to shoot a 17-year-old he thought was a member of a rival gang. "I only wanted to scare him," he said. The GUARDIAN this week begins a series which attempts to get behind the cult of violence growing throughout America. See p. 9.

THIS WEEK

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

You have a right to think!

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES did nothing inconsistent when it passed the delirious anti-thinking laws of Aug. 18. It was "logical" within the context of the policies Washington has pursued since 1945.

The domestic cornerstone of those policies has been to build up in the American mind the most thumping lie in history—the lie that brought Hitler to power, and to destruction. The lie is that socialism is not a science predicting the decline of capitalism from the known facts of history and economics—and preparing to replace it with a more moral and practical system—but a "Kremlin conspiracy" to "overthrow" capitalism. Under cover of that thumping lie Americans are to be prepared to participate in the violent overthrow of socialism where it has already been established.

With many of its inventors now believing it, the lie has acquired a terrific momentum of its own; its propagators are being carried along too fast to notice that our society is already being overthrown by the violence on their own doorsteps that has come to a headline climax with the Brooklyn "thrill murders."

THE BACKGROUND against which the Aug. 18 laws were passed was one of apparent domestic "success" (the recession was banished by a tabu on gloomy words) but actual world failure of Washington's policies:

- The intervention in Korea failed.
- The hoped-for intervention in Indo-China collapsed.
- Britain and France, the Western pillars of the Cold War, began to break away and called for living and trading together with socialism in peace.
- Dr. Otto John (see p. 3) stuck a pin in the balloon of lies told to win "free world" acceptance of a re-armed, re-nazified, aggressive West Germany; and the European Defense Community exploded in the faces of the brothers Dulles with a bang heard round the world.

The laws making a criminal of anyone who thinks were in fact a tribute, however monstrously devised, to the reawakening common sense not only of the "free world" allies, but of the American people. It is because we are waking up that those who pull the strings found it necessary to go all-out in their un-American delirium of Aug. 18.

DOES ANYONE SERIOUSLY THINK that our jungle politicians were concerned with the "threat" of 25,000 Communists (their figure) in a party whose leadership has already been truncated by Smith Act trials? What they are afraid of is that the WHOLE American people will discover the thumping lie and seek, in the traditional American manner, to smash it. To prevent this they must pre-

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THE MAIL BAG

The Belfrage fight

MELROSE, MASS.

Regardless of the response to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund, this will not indicate the full strength behind the fight. The amount of money available for political trials is becoming more and more limited as unemployment mounts and as each new arrest cuts off another small source of supply. I can't come through with anything for your defense right now because I am myself out on bail as a "conspirator" under a state witch-hunt law. The arrest cost me my job, and so it goes.

However, such persecution also provides new sources for funds by increasing the popular indignation against these frame-ups. In the last analysis it is this indignation and popular resentment to McCarthyism that will win for all of us, not money, necessary as this latter is. Thanks to the whore-house press, political cases are being totally suppressed for most people, but their anger becomes all the greater when this fraud against them is finally exposed.

Best of luck, and may the cash response overflow the financial dikes.

Frank Collier

Right from Rhee

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

In an interview in the Aug. 13 issue of U. S. News and World Report we get a burst of frankness from Dr. Syngman Rhee. He states on page 49: "WE started the fight in the first place in the hope that Communism would be destroyed."

We now have it straight from the horse's mouth; could anything be plainer?

John G. Fisher

The 2 Nathan Hales

REGO PARK, N. Y.

I was no little surprised to read in the July 26 GUARDIAN that Ann Hale Jr. of Wayland, Mass., is a "descendant of Nathan Hale." If so she is the first such known, as Hale was hanged as a spy by the British at 21, childless and unmarried to boot.

Newton E. Meltzer

The GUARDIAN's face is—er—flushed. The story came from a New England correspondent and we failed to check genealogical trees. The explanation, from Miss Hale: "Your reader is quite correct about Nathan Hale who was executed by the British. I never claimed descent from this gentleman, but from Col. Nathan Hale of Rindge, N. H., who was descended from a Hertfordshire (the other Nathan came from a Kent) family. My ancestor as a captain led a company of Minute Men to the field on the alarm of the battle of Lexington, was at Bunker Hill, served in New York under Washington in 1776-7. I have been asked by reporters if I were descended from Nathan Hale, and answered: 'Yes, but not the one in the history books.' The qualifying phrase is usually lost." Ed.

Take your choice

NEW YORK, N. Y.

If we can't co-exist here
We'll have to
Co-exit soon
To the Hereafter.

Lawrence Gellert

The horror of peace

CINCINNATI, OHIO

It is understood that since the Indo-China cease-fire agreement was signed at Geneva, the gloom in Washington has been so dense it can't be penetrated.

Reuel Stanfield

Joe did it

BOSTON, MASS.

Our sub ran out in May. For three months we talked about renewing . . . and it remained just talk. But last month my husband got the "call" from McCarthy. You see, he is the editor of his union local paper so he was a typical McCarthy "victim." Did it worry us? You bet! It worried us that we were reducing the GUARDIAN family when it is needed more than ever. So enclosed find $3 for a year sub. Put it back to May . . . and thanks for waiting.

Anne Garfield

5,000 hear Robeson

VANCOUVER, B. C.

You were away off the beam in your Aug. 2 Spectator column, in stating that 50,000 people would gather to hear Robeson at Peace Arch Park on Aug. 1. A liberal estimate of the attendance would be 5,000 people—4,900 Canadians and all of 100 Americans. Such a crowd at such a place is no mean accomplishment, either, since the place is 30 miles away from any major popoulation area. In '52, a good 25,000 made the attempt to hear him at the same place but I doubt if half of them made it, due to terrific traffic congestion.

Vic Smith

He knew no fear

BAYPORT, N. Y.

To say that we will miss Vito Marcantonio is but to give voice to the obvious. As a socialist and as a pacifist, I frequently disagreed with Marc, but always felt a keen admiration for him as one who would stand—alone if need be—for what he considered truth. He knew not of fear, but only of courage and of abiding love for his fellow man.

A great son of the working class is dead and we are all poorer for his passing.

George R. Stryker

Goldsborough & Youngblood

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am in complete disagreement with James Aronson's deprecating review of Goldsborough, by Stefan Heym (GUARDIAN, Aug. 23). When my husband and I, both electrical workers, read this book we agreed it was the best book about American workers we had ever read. We were impressed with Mr. Heym's deep insight into the social and political life of the people of this country, as well as his understanding of the personal conflict of persons caught in a strike situation.

Mr. Aronson says "the conflict of the miners does not come through." Perhaps he means the neurotic type of "inner conflict" such as is portrayed in Burning Valley [by Philip Bonosky] or The Eyes of Reason [by Heym]. . . . As for the "distasteful portrayal of women," I again disagree.

Despite minor weaknesses Goldsborough is an excellent book. . . . I sincerely hope Mr. Aronson's review won't discourage anyone from reading it.

Betty A.

•

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The reviews of Youngblood by John Killens and Goldsborough has given me a feeling of relief and gratitude at my own reaction to these books. . . . Both Heym's Crusaders and The Eyes of Reason were books I not only enjoyed for their story value but admired for their beautiful language. I therefore felt so much let down by Goldsborough that I developed a feeling of guilt. I also reacted so favorably to Burning Valley, which I felt was so much better written and truer in its warmth of presentation. . . .

As for Youngblood, I was very much struck by the beauty and warmth I found it difficult to believe that this wonderfully written work could be a first novel.

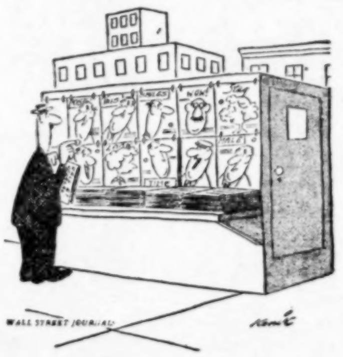
Mrs. E. K. S.

But we have fine guns

MARNE, MICH.

Visiting friends in England and W. Germany last fall, I was asked how come we had so much butter to give away. Didn't Americans eat butter? I told them that I and my family hadn't eaten butter in years; that you could get three lbs. of oleo for the same price as one lb. of butter, and naturally we all ate oleo. I have made it a habit in big chain stores to watch the butter and oleo counter. One, and once in a while two, out of 10 people take butter.

L. S. Rolf



Wall Street Journal

"Over here!"

Uncle Sam's uncle

PAHOKEE, FLA.

"What is a satellite?" asked one of my neighbors. "Well," I said, "it has something to do with dependence, but things change around so fast you never know what is what." "Yes," said the other neighbor, "now for example Germany. Uncle Sam beat up the Kaiser and Adolf, both, and now he is a satellite to Adenauer."

R. E. Boe

God, not Ike

BALTIMORE, MD.

Today the great question in moral theology is this: Is it lawful for scientists to engage in military research? I answer it as follows.

Science today stands on the threshold of the unseen, about to discover the psychic fifth dimension and prove with mathematical rigor the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. In this work, my fellow mathematicians are playing an important role. See the works of Boussinesque and E. A. Milne. With such a stupendous problem to be solved, we have no time to waste making guided missiles and H-bombs. Let us work for God, not Eisenhower.

Lewis Bayard Robinson

Mission to Spain

CLEVELAND, O.

Your anniversary article on Spain was excellent. I took special note of the announcement of Bowers' book, ordered it at the first opportunity, received it Friday, and have been reading it with great excitement.

Juan Belcampo Grulla

The book is My Mission to Spain, by Claude Bowers, former U. S. Ambassador to Spain (Simon & Shuster, N. Y., 456 pp., $6.) Ed.

"Stop the Bomb"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Aug. 9 GUARDIAN carries excerpts from [our] pamphlet "Stop the Bomb." These excerpts were selected and reproduced without our knowledge. . . . We expressly protest your misuse and selection of these excerpts. . . . You omit strongly critical characterizations on Russia's role in nuclear developments. . . . You do nothing but further the game of musical chairs being carried on between the Malenkov regime and the Eisenhower administration. . . . Our own approach treats any explosion of nuclear weapons by any government in the world, under any pretext, in any country as a genocidal crime against humanity. . . .

We are not so presumptuous as to believe that this distinction of our views from those of the GUARDIAN will in any way influence the implicit policies of your periodical. . . . Our opinion [is] that the GUARDIAN is simply a covert organ of the Communist Party. . . . We regard it as our solemn duty to warn all sincere opponents of the bomb tests . . . against the treacherous role your periodical and the Communist Party are attempting to play. . . .

Harold Wurf
For "Contemporary Issues"

A spur to new effort

RUSKIN, B. C.

We hope the loss of Vito Marcantonio will spur others to greater effort to fight the monster of fascism now stalking your land. The measure of your success against this threat to your life and liberties depends on the spirit of that solid fighting core of true Americans of which he was a glowing example.

T. Bardal

How crazy can you get dept.

BOOZE FIGHTS REDS

Newest gimmick to push bottle sales of liquor is a colored stamp with the slogan, "Fight Communism." Internal Revenue Service has just ruled that retail liquor dealers may use such a stamp, which also includes a picture of the Statue of Liberty.

Variety, Aug. 13.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Sidney Dryer, Bronx, N. Y.

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Vol. 6, No. 45 178 AUGUST 30, 1954

"Opinion is something with which the government has no business to meddle: it is quite beyond its legitimate province."—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The right to think

(Continued from Page 1)

vent people from thinking, learning or communicating—whether signal semaphore (one of the new "crimes") or through the pages of progressive publications. THEY ARE AFRAID THE PEOPLE WILL KNOW.

Unbelieving potential fellow-criminals (i.e., thinkers) have asked us what can be done. For a starter we suggest that we stop splitting hairs between the McCarthyites and the sickening "liberal" Humphreyites who went Joe one better in the grossest display of opportunism in modern legislative history. Then we can seriously get down to the job of building a genuine, broad-minded, decent Third Party movement. No self-respecting American can cast a ballot for anyone who voted for these bills.

HISTORY—THE SUPREME COURT which always overrules a ban on thinking—sometimes has a way of timing things so as to remove man-made spots from before the eyes of folks who can't help adding two and two to make four.

We're folks, and we don't think that life behind the Dollar Curtain is going to be any bed of roses in the period immediately ahead. We do think (sorry, Mr. Brownell) that whom the gods make mad, they intend to destroy.

But the gods need a big assist from thinking mortals. So our advice is this: Don't stop thinking, and don't stop thinking out loud. There are more of us than we think.

For years democracy has been on the statute books in our country and rendered a dead letter on many levels. Similarly many nations—particularly in Latin America—have had a fascist code on their statute books and the people have made that a dead letter, rendering fascism unenforceable.

Tyranny has never been a legal or a statutory matter. It survives only to the extent that people knuckle under.

—THE EDITORS

Paul Schnur

A devoted friend of the GUARDIAN, California labor leader Paul Schnur, died at 60 in San Francisco, Aug. 5, after a long illness. In tributes to him sent to his widow Ida, the four top officers of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union described him as "one of the staunchest and most militant union men we have ever known and loved." Edward Barlow, an officer of the American Communications Assn. Local 30, said: "The ordinary working people never had a finer champion." Schnur, a telegrapher, was secy. of the S. F. CIO Council during and after World War II, was active in civic affairs and often represented labor on city boards and committees.

Schnur's son, Paul Jr., was a soldier in Korea whose parents, after he was reported missing, learned through the GUARDIAN that he was alive and well as a POW. The Schnurs took an ad in the S. F. Chronicle in Dec., 1951, for an open letter to President Truman calling for hostilities to be stopped. In May, 1952, Mrs. Schnur came to New York on a nationwide pilgrimage to spread word of their call for peace.

WHY HE LEFT WEST GERMANY

Otto John's own story

The statement by Dr. Otto John, the "J. Edgar Hoover" of W. Germany, before 300 newsmen in E. Berlin Aug. 11, is of outstanding significance to Americans who recently fought a four-year war to destroy Nazism and now are told the European Defense Community is a design for peace. U.S. newspapers have given only a suggestion of what he said; we publish this and next week the whole statement minus a few sentences cut for space reasons.

Answering a question at the conference, Dr. John said it was his recent talks in Washington with U.S. Intelligence chief Allen Dulles "and other leading personalities" that "showed me America is preparing a war, on the basis of what can only be described as an hysterical fear psychosis, and that this war will hit us worst here in Germany."

FIRST I should like to make it clear that I myself requested this press conference, because I desire very strongly to speak to a world-wide public. . . . Whatever lies may be served up against me, the fact remains that my decisions and actions will be guided solely by the convictions I have arrived at as a result of my own experiences and knowledge. I am and I shall remain just as free in spirit and as politically independent as I have always been. . . .

There is a still, small voice within us which we often do not listen to, but which cannot be ignored forever. . . . I followed this voice in the fight against National Socialism and it is this voice which has led me here.

I have been accused of being a traitor before. Those who raise this cry now are, curiously enough—or perhaps it is not at all so accidental—the very same people who accused me of treachery and would cheerfully have hanged me ten years ago [when John participated in the 1944 bomb plot against Hitler].

Those who know me or who have anything approaching a correct idea of me know quite well that I am no communist. The stories which are now being produced about my alleged co-operation with the East in the past years are completely absurd.

SHATTERED ILLUSIONS: I am here because I am concerned for the fate of the German people and because I should never have had such a platform at my disposal anywhere in the West—least of all in the W. German Federal Republic. The restoration of those forces which once brought National Socialiism into power and kept it there is much too far advanced in the Federal Republic for that to be possible. . . .

OTTO JOHN
A still, small voice . . .

After 1945 so many people in Germany claimed that they could not have recognized the danger of National Socialism before 1933. I consider it my duty therefore to warn the German people now, openly and emphatically, of the dangers which threaten us today. After the first shot has been fired it will be too late.

When I took over my office in the Federal Republic in December 1950 I had the illusion that I was co-operating in the work of building up a new Germany which, cleansed of National Socialism, would give all Germans the chance to develop their lives in peace. Instead of that we have a partitioned Germany which threatens to be the batlefield in a new war between East and West, which would not only bring untold new sufferings upon us, but would actually destroy the very basis of existence of our people as a nation.

"THE STUPID DREAM": Communism is a reality, whether we like it or not, a reality for almost half of the people alive in the world today. The idea—or the dream—of being able to wipe out communism again is as stupid as Hitler's belief that he could wipe out Christianity.

The clever English have recognized this and are striving to find a modus vivendi with the communist half of the world. But the Americans refuse to recognize it. They are preparing for war, because they believe that they can, sooner or later, sweep communism off the face of the earth by means of a new crusade against the East.

Within this development the W. German Government has become a tool of American policy in Europe through the treaties of Bonn and Paris. The Americans need the Germans for their war against the East. And for this purpose the most welcome people are of course those who not only have learnt nothing from the German catastrophe, but who have also been waiting ever since for the day when they can take their revenge for the defeat of 1945. That is why the bloodthirstiest Nazis and militarists are being groomed for office in the Federal Republic.

The barbarians return

One of the members of the W. German government is a certain Minister Oberlaender, who carried out Hitler's "Germanization policy" in Poland—those barbaric measures which have blackened the reputations of all decent Germans in the world.

Secy. of State Ritter von Lex, shocked by the fact that a leading Nazi like Oberlaender was in the government, confided to me not long ago: "It seems that the Nazis have taken some big steps here already." But who dares to say so openly in the Federal Republic? Of course, Herr Oberlaender has thrown the real democratic officials out of his ministry and replaced them by his Nazi colleagues from the Hitlerite "Eastern Ministry."

Everywhere in the government, in economy, in industry, in the universities, wherever one looks, the Nazis are back again; with them the spirit which led the German people into total catastrophe has come to life once more. Now the amnesty has given all those Nazis who had gone underground in 1945 to escape just punishment the chance to rehabilitate themselves.

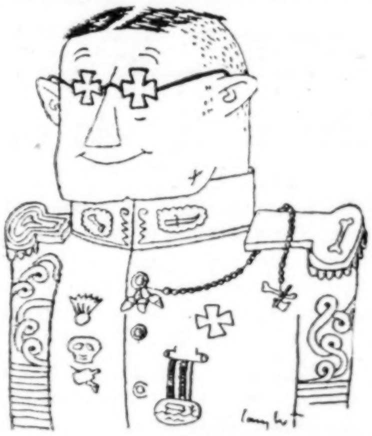
It is simply grotesque that in the Federal Republic today a Dr. Leverkuehn heads the European Union, which is supposed to improve French-German relations—a former National Socialist who proclaimed his Nazi spirit through his book, **Posten auf Ewiger Wache** [Sentries on Eternal Guard], in which the hero was one of the participants in the Hitler Putsch of 1923.

"UNDERSTANDING" WITH FRANCE: It is a bitter mockery that such a man today makes a business of German-French understanding after he himself propagated and strengthened the spirit which brought so much suffering to the French people. Last year Dr. Leverkuehn did not even hesitate to invite the French fascist Maurice Bardeche to speak before the European Union in Hamburg. You can judge from this what they mean in Bonn by French-German understanding.

Even the Free German Party, with whose genuinely liberal forces I feel myself most closely allied, has been infiltrated by Nazis. . . . In North Rhine-Westphalia [it] is riddled with and controlled by Nazis. Today their slogan is: "Let us win power legally once again."

[John then mentioned former Nazi generals Von Manstein, jailed for war crimes and "demonstratively and officially received by Dr. Adenauer" on his release; Ranke, now drawing "a pension bigger than the salary of an active ministerial director" and "repeatedly agitating against democracy"; Kesselring, now an "expert witness" defending "Hitlerite fanatics" in W. German courts; von Manteuffel, now a Free German Party member of the W. German parliament; Trettner, an open Hitlerite now "operating in the background in the Soldiers' Leagues." He called Zehrer, editor of Hamburg's **Die Welt**, "one of the most effective propagandists of National Socialism," and said that Claus Mehnert, "who comes from the same circles as Zehrer," played a decisive part in formulating foreign policy for the Christian Democratic Union. He said the Blank Office—the camouflaged W. German Ministry—and the Gehlen Organization—U.S.-financed spying, sabotage and provocation outfit headed by Hitler's "security" chief in occupied E. Europe—were "shelters for all those who fought for Hitler to the bitter end and cannot yet play a prominent public role,"]

LOGIC OF IGNORANCE: The steady encroachment of the incorrigible Nazi elements in the Federal Republic is the logical consequence of Dr. Adenauer's policy, which relies first and foremost on those circles which already wished to "wipe out Bolshevism" under Hitler. Dr. Adenauer's government, in its stupid ignorance of world trends, has in fact taken over and continued the aggressive policy of Hitler towards our neighbors.



Aufwaerts, W. Germany
"The world looks better now that I have my old spectacles back."

While innumerable victims—widows and orphans—of the Nazi terror are eking out a miserable existence, others, like Herr Ministerialrat Sauer, although not a hair of his head was touched during the Third Reich, receive thousands of marks and other privileges as reparations.

As far as the Nazis are concerned I am of the opinion that those who have learnt their lesson from the catastrophe and who have really changed should not be condemned, and should take their full and equal share in the building up of a peaceful Germany. But the atmosphere of the Federal Republic is tuned to a revival of National Socialism and militarism. This development has only become possible because the Americans, in their positively hysterical obsession with the fear of communism, can find no other way out than to prepare their crusade against the East.

(NEXT WEEK: "Man makes war—man can stop it.")

THE
SCOURGE
OF THE
SWASTIKA

A SHORT HISTORY OF
NAZI WAR CRIMES

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL

THE FORBIDDEN SUBJECT

In Britain, where opposition to rearming a re-nazified W. Germany has mounted to a mass crusade crossing all party lines, a sensation was caused this month by disclosure of the Lord Chancellor's attempt to suppress this book. The author, an asst. Judge Advocate General, was given the choice of withdrawing it or resigning. Lord Russell chose to resign; the book appeared and Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Express, featuring it as a serial, exploded the censorship scandal before the country.

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THE FACTS BEHIND SENATOR McCARTHY'S DETERMINATION TO DEPORT THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR—THE MAN WHO KNOWS TOO MUCH ABOUT THE BETRAYAL OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S DREAM OF A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL GERMANY. WRITTEN ON A GUGGENHEIM FELLOWSHIP, NOW ON THE PRESS AT CAMERON & KAHN. KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT HOW RE-NAZIFICATION BEGAN. BRING THE INSIDE STORY TO YOUR FRIENDS. ALL PROCEEDS TO THE BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK FUND. PUBLICATION IN SEPTEMBER.

About 'Seeds of Destruction' and its author

DIVIDED, ALREADY HALF RE-NAZIFIED, Germany is the powder keg of a world yearning for peace. Yet only nine years ago, Americans and their allies went into Hitler's physical and moral ruins with orders—which most of them strove to carry out—to dig there a well of truth and democracy.

Who put poison in the well and how was it done? The recent sensational statement (see p. 3) by Dr. Otto John, West Germany's "J. Edgar Hoover," whom Washington trusted, tells the story of how it began and how deep the poison has gone. But the tragedy can only be understood by going back to the first decisive months in 1945 when American occupation forces held the future in their hands.

Cedric Belfrage went to Germany with the first team under American command to clean up Hitler's mess in a key sector, the press.

This is an account of what he and his associates did and of how their work began to be sabotaged before the end of that year, 1945. Last year Senator McCarthy summoned him to answer what amounted to charges that he was a Russian agent in following General Eisenhower's directives to democratize the press.

Senator McCarthy refused to permit Belfrage to tell the real story.

Here it is—a unique historical document, a frank account of both good and bad in the American occupation experiment, a book that reads like a novel but is true in every word.

Cedric Belfrage, world traveler and former critic-columnist of the London **Express,** is author of a famous travel book, **Away From It All** (a Literary Guild selection); two novels, **Promised Land** and **Abide With Me** (his last book, about the American undertaking business); an autobiography, **They All Hold Swords,** and the biography of the Rev. Claude Williams, **A Faith to Free the People.** In 1948 he helped to found and became editor of the GUARDIAN.

LATIN AMERICA

Brazil's Vargas kills self as crisis grips the nation

ON Monday Aug. 23, Pres. Getulio Vargas of Brazil was quoted in Rio de Janeiro's daily **Ultima Hora** as saying: "I'll leave the palace only dead."

That solution was apparently acceptable to Army and Air Force officers. At 8:30 a.m. Tuesday the 71-year-old president lay dead with a bullet in his heart in his room at Catete Palace. In the early morning hours he had yielded to demands by military leaders that he take at least a 90-day leave from office.

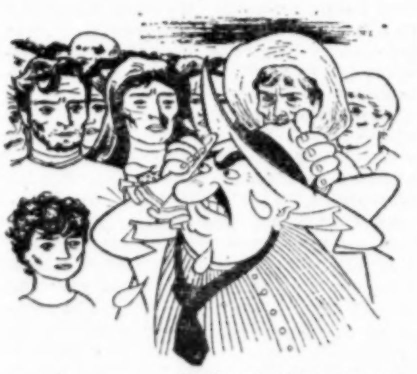
Then he went to his room and wrote a farewell note picturing himself as a martyr fighting "domination and looting by international groups." He cited employers' campaigns against excess profits taxes and increased minimum wages and wrote:

> "I saw the coffee crisis increase the value of our principal product. We attempted to defend its price and the reply was a violent pressure upon our economy to the point of being obliged to surrender. . . . I leave life to enter history."

Thus pinning upon his successors the "made-in-U. S." label, Vargas shot himself through the heart. Who those successors might be was uncertain. Vice-President Joao Cafe Jr. took over the office but other politicians waited in the wings.

CRISIS & SQUALOR: Vargas' death came at a time when Brazil, larger than the U. S. and potentially as rich, struggled in a devastating economic crisis. On the farms 82% of the land is owned by 14% of the agricultural population. Some eight million farmers are landless day-laborers or sharecroppers, living so close to the margin that every flood or drought sends thousands on the road, often dying from hunger before they reach the cities.

The tide of refugees from the countryside fills the cities, making the "favellas" (Hoovervilles) on Rio's hillsides the most appalling slums on the continent.



Ze Brasil, Rio de Janeiro

BREATHING DOWN HIS NECK

The landless and the landlord

LABOR ON THE MARCH: Brazil's rising middle class clamors for machinery to build basic industry, to begin at last to mine Brazil's untapped riches. (The only two steel mills in Brazil must import 65% of the coal they need.)

That class is only one small element in the resistance growing throughout the country. Unionization has gone forward in the last 10 years, in the cities and among agricultural workers, more intensively than anywhere else in the Americas.

Faced with a galloping inflation, the unions have insistently demanded higher wages. On May 1 Vargas, unable to stall mounting protest, ordered the minimum wage doubled as of July 1. Before that date employers' groups sued for and won an injunction. While the high court considered the constitutionality of raising wages, eight labor federations in Sao Paulo joined in a manifesto calling for "energetic action." Rio unions moved similarly, talked of a nationwide "general strike."

On July 5, the Supreme Court, trying to catch up with swiftly marching history, approved the raise. To employer groups and perhaps to the State Dept. this indicated that Vargas was weakening in the crisis.

ILLEGAL BUT POTENT: Brazil's Communist Party, strongest in Latin America, is illegal but four of its deputies sit in the Federal District legislature and three more in Congress. It publishes some 52 dailies, weeklies and monthlies. The red scare and the witch-hunt have rarely worked. When Vargas charged 44 army officers and civilian employes with "subversion," army courts acquitted them and the N. Y. **Times** reported: "The impression given was that the Army had been lukewarm in its prosecution of the case."

For three years Brazilian courts have been trying the 17 CP leaders under a modified Smith Act, but only one is in custody. Though in hiding, the others—including ex-Army lieutenant Luis Carlos Prestes—are frequently heard from.

CALL TO ACTION: After Guatemala the U. S. press pointed to other "communist threats" in Brazil and Chile. If action were to be taken it would have to be swift. Congressional and state elections were scheduled for Oct. 3, with the CP demanding its rights to the ballot and supported even in Congress.

Also causing major concern in U. S. circles was Brazil's increasing trade with the socialist world. Brazil has signed trade agreements totaling $88 million with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Intervention from the outside in Brazil seemed impossible. Inside the country U. S. interests felt unsafe with Vargas. He had not only weakened in the face of popular demands, but even if he could be stiffened he was so discredited he could pull little weight even with the politicians. In an editorial written only hours before his death the N. Y. **Times** (8/24) condemned his

> ". . . weakness, indecision, confusion and mismanagement . . . a determination to seek popular mass support exactly as Peron did in Argentina by giving wage increases and benefits to the workers regardless of the effect on the economy. . . ."

ASSASSINATION: Vargas had won election to a five-year term in 1950 on a program of sweeping reforms and advanced labor and agricultural legislation. (Earlier, 1930-1945, he had ruled as dictator.) After four years, scarcely one of his promises had been kept. In Rio it was commonly said there could never be another Vargas, meaning a sell-out on so colossal a scale.

The mantle of reaction fell on two men: Air Force chief Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, who had negotiated the universally unpopular military pact with the U. S., and Carlos de Lacerda, editor of **Tribuna da Imprensa,** ex-Communist and enthusiastically pro U. S., who editorialized for U. S. oil concessions. (Even without oil U. S. has $1 billion invested in Brazil.)

For months Lacerda had attacked Vargas, exposing the corruption easy to find in Brazilian politics. In the early hours of Aug. 5 Lacerda stood in front of his house chatting with Air Force Major Rubens Florentino Vaz. An assassin fired, nicking Lacerda only slightly but killing Vaz.

Air Force investigations going over the heads of the police turned up alleged assassins among Vargas' Presidential guard. Meanwhile Lacerda and some military circles inflamed the country, seeking to channel existing discontent to their own purposes, demanding Vargas' resignation.

EXPLOSIONS AHEAD: How successful that channeling was remained doubtful. Brazil's army is divided. While some high officers are blatantly reactionary, others have led the rank and file in strong anti-imperialist positions, with generals and colonels heading demonstrations against U. S. big-business encroachments.

The left-wing **Noticias de Hoje** in Sao Paulo (8/15) ran this page-one banner headline: "FLOUR OUT OF THE SAME SACK: GETULIO, LACERDA AND THE BRIGADIER" (Gomes). As the news of Vargas' death broke, crowds hurled rocks through windows of the U. S. Embassy in Rio and the U. S. Information Services Office at Belo Horizonte, assaulted and partly burned the consulate at Porto Alegre. The situation was described as "explosive."

—**Elmer Bendiner**

FREEDOMS

9 Philadelphia Smith Act victims face 5 years after trial lasting 71 days

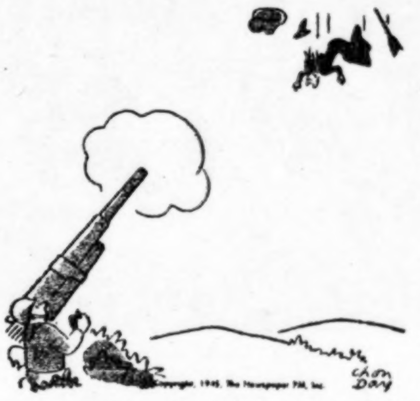
ON AUG. 12 Federal Judge J. Cullen Ganey gave to a Philadelphia jury the Smith Act case of nine Pennsylvania Communists. It was the longest trial in the history of that court: 71 days. The next day, after eight hours of deliberation, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The verdict, the **Daily Worker** said (8/18),

> ". . . would have been impossible for any American jury in saner times [because it could not] disregard the naked falsehoods of the government's hired witnesses."

Alex Marlowe in **The Nation** (7/17), listing such hired witnesseses as Paul Crouch and Louis Budenz, said that in Philadelphia legal circles

> ". . . the feeling is that [defense atty. Thomas D.] McBride and his team of nine lawyers are giving the government one of its strongest Smith Act challenges."

FACING 5 YEARS: Marlowe indicated that the presumption of innocence was so obvious that a guilty verdict would suggest a government "trend" to convict Smith Act victims regardless of the evidence.


Copyright, 1945, The Newspaper PM, Inc.
Chon Day

Drawing from PM, New York (1945)

The nine defendants—Dave Davis, Irvin Katz, Robert Klonsky, Joseph Kuzma, Sherman Labovitz, Walter Lowenfels, Thomas Nabried, Joseph Roberts and Benjamin Weiss—face a maximum penalty of five years or a $10,000 fine, or both. Sentence was deferred pending argument on defense motion for acquittal or a new trial. Former Bethlehem Steel union organizer Kuzman was released in $20,000 bail; the others in $10,000 each.

THE DENVER ARRESTS: On Aug. 2 FBI director Hoover announced the arrest of seven persons in Denver and Los Angeles on charges of "conspiring to teach and advocate." They were Arthur Bary and his wife Anna; Mrs. Patricia J. Blau (who was acquitted in the so-called harboring case involving Smith Act refugee Robert Thompson); Lewis M. Johnson; Joseph W. Scherer and his wife Maia, and Harold Zepelin.

Johnson in a hand-written letter to the GUARDIAN the day they were indicted (Aug. 16) wrote:

> "Our arrest and indictment are especially significant to the people of the Rocky Mountain states. It is particularly important to the workers in basic industry and to the Mexican national minority concentrated in this area.
>
> "All of us are workers or from working class backgrounds. Mrs. Anna Bary is a young Mexican woman; the Scherers are from Pueblo, the Colo. Fuel and Iron Corp. town; I was a hard-rock miner for a number of years and helped to organize the Miami, Ariz., local of the Mine-Mill Union in 1941-42, a key campaign in breaking the open-shop hold of the southwest mining companies and winning equal pay and rights for Mexican miners.
>
> "While we are being held in jail under exorbitant bond—at first set at $100,000 each and later reduced to the still unattainable sum (for us) of $40,000 each—in this same jail are men who face up to 25 years imprisonment, if convicted on armed robbery charges, etc., whose bonds range from $1,000 to $2,500; while we, if convicted, are subject to only 1/5 of that term, yet are held on from 15 to 40 times that amount of bail."

They were arrested without warrants; they did not see their warrants until seven hours later, after having been searched and questioned at FBI headquarters. The two "overt acts" Johnson was originally charged with were dropped completely from the grand jury indictment and others substituted.

PATTERSON—90 DAYS: Civil Rights Congress exec. secy. William L. Patterson was arrested on June 28 under a "contempt of court" order and sentenced to 90 days. Ex-Smith Act prosecutor (now federal judge) John F. X. McGohey, passing sentence, said he didn't believe Patterson's sworn affidavit that documents requested by the court allegedly for the Internal Revenue Bureau were not available because they were mislaid or lost when the CRC offices were moved.

THE SCORE: The tally of Smith Act victims stands, to date, 120 indicted and 81—as follows—convicted: Detroit, 6; Hawaii, 7; Los Angeles, 14; Maryland, 6; New York, 24; Philadelphia, 9; Pittsburgh, 5; St. Louis, 5; Seattle, 5.

SONNET

(For William L. Patterson)

He moves in beauty through our prison age,
bathed in tomorrow's sun, drenched in blue
horizons. Trees are stirring, as trees do
in summer winds, but in his prison cage
he guards a tree whose beauty never fades
when summer moves. Its loveliness is true
forever in the flesh, forever new
in us, in him, in freedom's human image.

When lakes are glistening in the angry heat,
and young bodies pant on the shimmering grass,
Mount Kenya gleams for him with summer snows.

Now in the valleys where the lynchers meet
he challenges their dreams. Some beauties pass
but not the mountain heights where freedom glows.

—Walter Lowenfels

Do it now!

The following editorial appeared in the Baltimore Afro-American *Aug. 14, 1954:*

HELP SAVE IRVIN

Walter Lee Irvin, the last of the four "Little Scottsboro" boys arrested in 1950 following a reign of terror at Groveland, Fla., languishes on death row in Raiford Prison.

Since spring, he has been waiting for Florida's Governor Charles Johns to set a new execution date.

Condemned to the electric chair in 1950, he was given a new trial by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1951.

Tried again in 1952 amid a lynch atmosphere far worse than during the original trial, Irvin, whom the prosecuting witness could not even identify, was quickly given a death sentence by an all-white back-country jury.

The Supreme Court denied a review of his second conviction, leaving his fate to the tender mercies of Florida authorities.

But Irvin doesn't have to die. You can help save his life.

Let's flood Governor Johns' desk at the State Capitol in Tallahassee with thousands of appeals for commutation of this unfortunate lad's sentence.

Don't put it off. Reach for your pen and paper now.

It's in the dictionary

Syndicated book-reviewer Sterling North reports that the word "McCarthyism" has now turned up in the dictionary. The latest American College Dictionary thus defines it:

"(1) **Public accusation of disloyalty . . . unsupported by truth; (2) unfairness in investigative technique.**"

COMING:

Silas Timberman

A new novel by

Howard Fast

On October 15 The Blue Heron Press will publish Howard Fast's new novel, SILAS TIMBERMAN. This is a story of a college professor and his wife caught in the fury of the current witch hunt.

We feel that this is the most important of Howard Fast's recent books, and we have already ordered three editions before publication. Buy it at your local book store or directly from us. GUARDIAN readers who wish to have an autographed first edition are advised to reserve it by sending $3 plus 25c for postage and handling, to:

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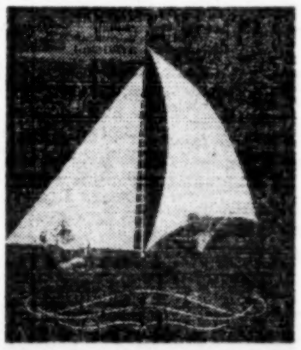
New Year in August?



No, but August is not a bit too early for business and professional people to start shopping for the personalized greeting card which best suits their needs.

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Portrait of an Undesirable Alien

By Frank Scully

By Frank Scully

(The author of this two-part article, excerpted from the California Quarterly, *is the well-known columnist for* Variety. *author of the best-selling* Fun In Bed *books and of the recent* Behind the Flying Saucers.)

ON coming home one day late in May, 1953, from an afternoon at Paramount studio, Hollywood, where I had a bull session with George Stevens, the director of **Place in the Sun** and **Shane,** I found a message from a Mr. Howell, Mutual 8281, Ext. 22, U.S. Immigration office, Los Angeles.

As such news is rarely good news these days, and it was late anyway, I put off the return call till the next day. That was going to be a busy one, too, because we had a lot of peace-surplus goods on our hands—having bought food to feed 90 people at a community breakfast when we opened the chapel on our ranch at Desert Springs the previous Sunday, only to find that less than 60 had come. So we took our peace-surplus goods home and decided to throw a supper party.

I returned Mr. Howell's call. He explained that it concerned an immigration matter, which the department felt I might help clear up. He talked for a minute or two, trying hard not to let his cat out of the bag. "You mean the Belfrage case," I said, being a great one for cutting to the chase.

FRANK SCULLY
"The guy most responsible"

"Y-yes," he said, seemingly thrown off balance. "When could I see you?"

"Come up at 2:30 today," I said.

At two the bell rang. Mr. Howell had a "friend." They both showed their identification tags. I chided them for traveling around in pairs like French gendarmes whose job seems to be to watch each other.

GENERAL KICKING AROUND: One of them wanted to know how I knew they wanted to talk to me about the Belfrage case. I smiled and asked him if Macy's told Gimbels.

I wanted to know if they knew who was back of the bum beef. They assured me this wasn't a roust, that no pressures were involved, just a routine check on an alien. I said:

> "What do you mean no pressures are involved? McCarthy doesn't like what an editor writes, rousts him, tells the guys in the immigration office to dig up something on the editor, you get an urgent wire from Washington, I get a telephone call from you. What do you mean McCarthy's not running the government? What do you mean it's all being done in a peaceful, law-abiding way? Belfrage is getting kicked around, you're getting kicked around and I'm getting kicked. Let's remember our roles of spear-holders in this hunt of a few men for power at the cost of the liberty of the rest of us."

"I'M THE GUY": At about this point I decided that I really ought to stop making a speech as Democratic leader of Hollywood and tell them the Belfrage story.

> "You know," I said, "I think I'm the guy most responsible for the plight he's in—I tried to help him, England, and the U.S. in wartime and the parlay took Belfrage so far away from his home here, and delayed the fulfillment of his declaration of intention to become a citizen so long, that he couldn't get back to it for years. You have no provision apparently in the law to reward those who are making non-military sacrifices beyond the call of duty. All you have is provisions to give them the old heave-ho if they don't vote and talk and think like McCarthy, McCarran and MacArthur."

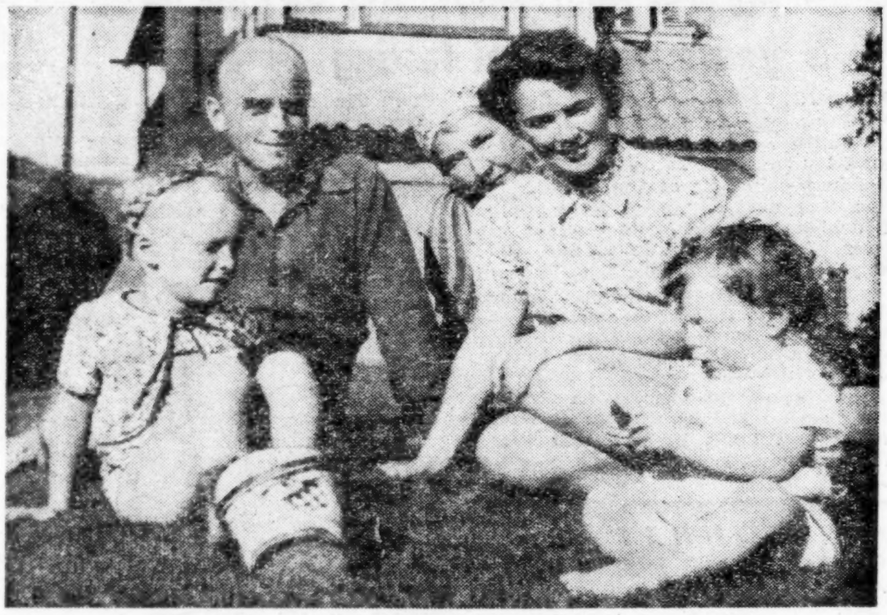
I told them how I first met Belfrage. That was around 1929. He was press agent for Sam Goldwyn in London, and he sought me out to invite me to the opening of Eddie Cantor's **Whoopee.**

From the moment I met him I felt that here was a kindred soul, and between my New York dialect and his Cambridge open vowels there was enough to develop a beautiful friendship. In fact, that's just what it did develop into, and the ups and downs of our careers haven't altered this affection in the least.

(Scully describes the 1934 "EPIC" campaign and a visit Belfrage paid to gubernatorial candidate Upton Sinclair with himself, J. P. McEvoy and Jim Tully, all "EPIC" boosters.)

WANTED—A CLEAN TOWN: Cedric married and went around the world. I think their baby was conceived in London, certified in Moscow, had its first stirrings in Shanghai and was born in Hollywood. [In June, 1936] he cabled me from Honolulu to get them a house, an obstetrician, and if possible a cook.

[After that] he published a monthly magazine called **The Clipper** [formerly **Black & White**]. I wrote one of my best pieces for it. It concerned the rise and fall of F. Scott Fitzgerald.



BELFRAGE AND HIS FAMILY IN HOLLYWOOD IN 1941
The Cambridge open vowels led to a beautiful friendship

It was about this time that I myself got involved in local political issues. I was settling down and raising a family in Hollywood, and under the circumstances I liked a clean town in which to raise my kids.

I found out that was pretty hard to do in Los Angeles, which was fast becoming a sunny place for shady people. Racketeers had developed a combination between the underworld and law-enforcement that ran into 150 millions of dollars, the biggest business, I guess, in Southern California at that time. Though the town, under L.A. **Times** belaboring, believed in the open shop for most enterprises, it believed in a closed shop for whores and slot-machine operators. You had to get in the combination or get out of town.

I didn't get out of town, and I didn't like my kids to be going off to parochial school with their lunch money, only to have the slot machines snatch the nickels out of their hands.

THE BIG BANG: As groups of similar civic-minded persons gathered, we found that the war between good and evil became more sharply defined. Cedric was not a party to all this, but he certainly was an intense observer. It got so that our group had to have a bodyguard to keep the cops at arm's length. His name was Harry Raymond. He had formerly been chief of detectives in Los Angeles. He was, moreover, the deadliest shot since Will Bill Hickok. Every crooked cop was terrified to find him on our side.

By this time our telephone had been tapped for three years and daily below our house a squad car stayed, the cops having bugged the house meanwhile so they could listen to all conversations.

Several of us went to Victorville for a weekend—A. Brigham Rose (attorney for our group) and family, the Scullys, the Belfrages and Raymond. A week after this serene interlude Captain Earl Kynette, head of the L. A. police's metropolitan squad, and his goons in cops' uniforms wired a bomb under the starter of Raymond's car. Raymond stepped on it, causing an explosion. Parts of his car were found 200 yards away. He himself was picked up and rushed to the hospital with 186 slugs in him.

(Scully describes a visit with Belfrage to Raymond in the hospital, where he lay in bed with a six-shooter under the bedclothes and explained: "All those guys out there know if one of them comes in, he's dead.")

"MUST HAVE BEEN LOVE": To give some small measure of hope now to those who believe that nothing is so bad that it can't get better, I need only point out that not long after this Kynette was arrested, tried and sentenced to San Quentin for 20 years.

Now I don't doubt that all this had some effect on Cedric Belfrage, and if he still wanted to become a citiizen of the U.S., it must have been love. He saw the political machine roust good citiizens as dictators rousted them elsewhere, and he saw the whole horrible hierarchy heaved out of office on a recall election.

We had many good times together. Guests would come from England and he'd invite us up to meet them. We'd have distinguished people (distinguished by the fact that they were hungry) at our place and invite the Belfrages over. We became active in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. I would do labors of love on the **Epic News,** the **United Progressive News,** the **Hollywood Press-Times,** and call on Cedric to do his bit too. I suppose between us we have written more free columns to keep alive a free press than any two writers who had no other means of livelihood.

(Scully tells of a conversation between Jiim Tully, Belfrage, himself and Harry Bridges after a public debate in Los Angeles between Bridges and Hawaiian Steamship Lines pres. Lapham, later mayor of San Francisco; and of Bridges' refusal to give an interview to a Hearst reporter who was not a member of the American Newspaper Guild.)

(Concluded next week.)

Belfrage hearings open again Sept. 7

The deportation proceedings against Cedric Belfrage, Guardian editor, will open again at 9 a.m., Tues., Sept. 7, on the 8th floor of the Immigration Bldg., 70 Columbus Av. (at 63d St.), N. Y. C. The hearings are expected to continue through the week. Everyone who can attend should be there. A full room is the best vote of confidence Belfrage can have.

The history of the case is briefly as follows: On May 13-14, 1953, Belfrage was called before the McCarthy committee in Washington to be questioned about "communist influences" in setting up a democratic press in post-war Germany. (He had previously been submitted to Velde committee questioning implying he was a Communist, a spy, etc.) On May 15 he was arrested, taken to Ellis Island; since June 11, 1953, he has been free (confined to the New York area) on $5,000 bail despite a court fight by the government to deny bail.

On Aug. 10, 1954, the deportation hearing began in New York: Belfrage was asked to be sworn in as a government witness, which he declined to do; questions relating to "espionage," "secret Communist cells" etc., covering 17 years of his life, were nevertheless thrown at him for two hours. His attorney said he would sit mute until the case against him was properly presented. The government declines to provide any bill of particulars or identities of its witnesses.

Belfrage's chief attorney, Blanch Freedman, challenged the validity of the whole proceedings as not comporting with minimum standards of constitutional due process. The fight in the case is regarded as an important challenge to the Walter-McCarran Act under which such proceedings are possible, and under which hundreds of foreign-born men, women and children are being victimized.

Road to Hell

The German learned societies did not raise their voice in protest against these early dismissals [by the Nazis for political "heresy"] . . . It seemed much more important at that moment to fight for the established rights of those who had tenure, and this could be done much more successfully, so they thought, if they made concessions on minor points.

In a sense, the German government kept its word with respect to those who had tenure. It is true that before long most professors who were considered "undesirable" were retired; but they were given pensions adequate for their maintenance. And these pensions were faithfully paid to them until the very day they were put into concentration camps, beyond which time it did not seem practicable to pay them pensions. Later many of these professors were put to death, but this was no longer, strictly speaking, an academic matter with which the learned societies needed to concern themselves.

—Chicago atomic scientist Leo Szilard.

HOW WASHINGTON PLANS TO PEURIFOY S.E. ASIA

U.S. pushes SEATO as EDC collapses

By Kumar Goshal

AT BRUSSELS on Aug. 21 the foreign ministers of the six signatories to the European Defense Community treaty sat down—and the main plank of Washington's European policy was pulled from under Secy. Dulles' chair. Despite grim warnings from Washington, exhortations from W. Germany's Adenauer and soothing syrup from Belgium's Paul-Henri Spaak, French Premier Mendes-France stood by his treaty amendments that would have prevented W. German supremacy in western Europe through EDC. At 2:40 a.m. the exhausted conferees admitted failure to reach an agreement; most European citizens heaved sighs of relief; and Dulles was left with "an agonizing reappraisal of basic U.S. policy" staring him in the face.

Learning nothing from the failure of its previous Asian policies—and from Geneva and Brussels — Washington went ahead with a conference on Sept. 6 in Manila to set up a S.E. Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), "a strictly military alliance . . . along the pattern of NATO " (N.Y. **Times,** 7/25). SEATO would include the U.S., Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand; its only three Asian members would be the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan where a pro-U.S. dictatorship was recently installed (GUARDIAN, 8/23).

THAILAND: MR. PEURIFOY WILL GUARD THE FREE WORLD'S RICE
Wading worker in a field near the capital city of Bangkok

COMMON INTEREST: Conference announcements described all eight governments as "like-minded"; all do have some common interests. The U.S. has immense, typically colonial "economic and strategic interests in S.E. Asia [which exports] rice, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee and sugar [and] contains oil, tin, chromite, nickel, bauxite, tungsten and magnesium" (**Mazagine of Wall St.,** 5/1). Britain still profits from Malaya despite the cost of fighting "communists" there. France, though doomed to salvage little from Indo-China, was included perhaps to soothe wounded pride and make it more amenable to ratify EDC. Australia and New Zealand are now in the U.S. orbit; Australia is a modest imperialist power in Asia.

The Philippines government is still fighting the Huk liberation army and strong internal opposition to its pro-U.S. policy; militarily and economically it is still tied effectively to Washington. Thailand's corrupt, feudal, shaky government depends on U.S. military support. Pakistan's government, unpopular at home and in conflict with India over strategic Kashmir, is equally shaky. Imperialist desire to control raw-material and cheap labor sources on the part of some governments, and weakness, inefficiency and unpopularity on the part of others, have brought about the singular combination of SEATO.

NO UPRISINGS: Secy. Dulles disclosed the alliance's true nature by making "it clear that SEATO will deal with the problem of preventing the overthrow of native governments by subversion, as distinct from open aggression" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 8/11); or, as Ned Russell put it, by "Communist-inspired subversion or civil war." Russell reported "little fear among Washington officials that Communist China is likely to undertake open aggression in the foreseeable future." He further spelled out SEATO's aim by stating that its goal is

> ". . . to strengthen the military and police establishments of such countries as Thailand, in particular, and the Philippines so that their governments can deal effectively with any internal uprising."

Beyond this Washington was evidently preparing ways of direct military intervention if necessary. Hanson Baldwin reported (**NYT,** 8/19) that U.S. policy, while retaining "the capacity for massive retaliation," now is to find

> ". .. . new ways and means . . . to deal with the threats of Communist subversion . . . developing smaller and more mobile ground units, trained in the tactics of commando warfare, regrouping U. S. ground forces in carefully selected strategic reserves. . . ."

U.S. Foreign Aid director Harold Stassen, indicating "the far-flung battleground" SEATO would cover to prevent social revolution in colonial and underdeveloped countries ("civil war"), predicted that

> ". . . S.E. Asia will be an arena of the greatest activity by both the free world and the Communists in the immediate future. . . . Communists are already engaged in aggressive infiltration tactics all the way from Japan's labor unions to the rubber plantations of Indonesia and the rice fields of Burma" (**Robert Allen,** 7/29).

CALL FOR MR. PEURIFOY: In Thailand Washington was reported expecting a Vietminh-type development—and indicated its intentions by transferring John Peurifoy there from Guatemala as Ambassador "for the express purpose of aiding the government to combat this sinister Moscow-Peking plot" (**Robert Allen,** 8/19). After spending $28 million in Thailand since 1949, the Pentagon has now approved a new, additional military aid program and an increase in the number of Thai officers (now 503) being trained here.

The U.S. is building a $3 million, 297-mile military road connecting central Thailand with the northeast plateau, which has become "a focus of opponents of the Pibul regime and its pro-American policy" (**New Statesman,** 6/12). Thailand's importance to Washington is underlined by the U.S. switch of support from the Netherlands' Van Kleffens to Thai Prince Wan Waithayakon for next UN General Assembly president.

SNAGS . . .: The emerging pattern—symbolized by Peurifoy's appointment—suggested SEATO's role of trying to prevent in S.E. Asia inevitable social, economic and political changes in the manner of Mao Tse-tung's China, Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam or Arbenz' Guatemala. Defense Secy. Wilson meanwhile promised more military aid to S. Korea, Japan, Formosa and the Philippines. But there were already indications that SEATO would be, if not still-born, far from what Washington desires.

The refusal of India, Burma, Indonesia and even the pro-U.S. Ceylon government to attend the Manila conference has characterized SEATO to Asians as an organization of imperialist powers and their satellites. Britain, the major power next to the U.S., has "little confidence . . . that the Philippines or Thailand . . . can convince independent Asian opinion by their participation with the Western nations at Manila" (**NYT,** 8/15); it has opposed any military commitments and insisted that Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa remain outside SEATO's jurisdiction. Any anti-China move would bring powerful opposition in Australia and no support from New Zealand, whose Prime Minister has called for UN recognition of People's China.

. . . AND MORE SNAGS: The Pakistan government, "concerned that . . . conditions which existed in the East are becoming evident in the West" (**AP,** 8/10), is going to Manila without committing itself "to participate in any scheme that might emerge out of the deliberations" (**NYT,** 8/15). In South Vietnam, where "corruption is widespread [and] soldiers in the Vietnam army are defecting in large numbers" (**U.S. News,** 8/20), it would outrage world opinion to intervene in favor of "the shaky Vietnam government . . . afraid of its own shadow, aimless and doubtful . . ." (N.Y. **World Telegram,** 8/9).

Long before SEATO is set up, Burma at the forthcoming UN session is again bringing up charges against Chiang, whose troops are still fighting the Burmese despite U.S. guarantees of their withdrawal. Indonesia is going to accuse the Netherlands of refusing to discuss its withdrawal from Western New Guinea as promised in the U.S.-supervised Netherlands-Indonesia treaty.

"A SMALL SEATO": Commenting that "to lean on Thailand [is] to lean on a rubber cane," Hanson Baldwin saw coming out of the Manila conference "a small SEATO, possibly with two Asian members, with most of the military strength furnished by the West" (**NYT,** 8/8). But Australian economist Sir Douglas Copeland warned the Western governments, at the UN Economic and Social Council conference at Geneva, that spending billions on armaments would be futile if poverty dominated large areas of the world.

SEATO planned to include in the treaty a provision for "increased economic co-operation in the area." For S.E. Asians the question was: what kind of co-operation could they expect, in the light of past experience?

(SEATO's economic aspects will be discussed in a forthcoming article.)

"I WILL NOT SERVE THE GOVERNMENT'S DESIGN"

Why they won't let Mary Belfrage go home

IN AUGUST, 1953, two months after Cedric Belfrage was released on bail from Ellis Island, the Immigration Service, which was then fighting the bail order, arrested his former wife Mary Beatrice, mother of his two American-born children. She was charged with "Communist activity in the Los Angeles area" in the '30's, has been free in $2,000 bail ever since. She declined to answer questions which might be prejudicial to her former husband's case. She then wrote in the London **Daily Express** (circ. 4,000,000):

> "I seem to have got mixed up in a little private war between a gentleman from Wisconsin named McCarthy and an Englishman called Belfrage over what is laughingly known as freedom of the press."

A year later—on Aug. 9, the day before Cedric Belfrage's hearing began—she was called to a deportation hearing but refused to take the stand.

"PREFERS TO LEAVE": Her attorney re-stated the position she had taken from the outset: that she would not contest deportation, was ready to take her children to England and indeed "in light of the warrant, preferred not to live in the U.S." For the benefit of the younger child who was about to start high school, it was especially important that she return without delay to arrange for a school. She was ready to "stipulate," without conceding its truth, any government witness' testimony on the CP membership charges.

The examining officer declined, saying he preferred to put in the government's case; but no witnesses were called or apparently ready. Instead, an order was sought and granted in U.S. District Court to compel Mrs. Belfrage to testify Aug. 25.

HARASSMENT: On Aug. 24 her attorney applied to the court for the order to be vacated, reaffirming that Mrs. Belfrage was ready to "stipulate" and leave immediately. She stated:

> "Obviously the government does not want merely my deportation but seeks through such harassment . . . to force me to testify in the deportation proceedings against . . . the father of my children. . . . I reiterate [that] I will not serve the government's design. . . ."

The affidavit contended that since the McCarran Act only provides for subpenaing witnesses in connection with persons desiring to reside in or pass through the U.S., this could not be done in the case of someone who did not so desire. But the court on Aug. 24 ruled that "stipulation" of testimony on former CP membership was not enough to give the government the facts it needed for deportation. A nine-day stay of the subpena was granted to permit an appeal.

THREE SENATORS HELD OUT

Senate cites Lamont, 2 others for contempt for resisting McCarthy; all pledge fight

ON Aug. 16, in the midst of the Congress stampede to outlaw the Communist Party and make membership in it illegal, three Senators stood up to Sen. Joseph McCarthy's move to cite for "contempt" Corliss Lamont, author and Columbia University philosophy lecturer, who had invoked the First Amendment in refusing to answer McCarthy's questions. The vote for the citation was 71 to 3; the three opposing it were Lehman (D-N.Y.), Langer (R-N.D.) and Chavez (D-N.M.).

Two others who had stood on the First in resisting McCarthy were cited at the same time: Abraham Unger, New York lawyer, and Albert Shadowitz, former Federal Telecommunications Laboratory employe at Nutley, N. J. In a sharp debate Lehman protested that McCarthy's one-man committee had no jurisdiction to question Unger in the first place; McCarthy accused Lehman of "using Communist jargon" and of hiring many subversives as head of the defunct UNRRA, and said he was "shocked" at Lehman's attempt to "clean his skirts."

CORLISS LAMONT
No sacrifice too great

WILL FIGHT THROUGH: Shadowitz had told McCarthy his refusal to answer questions was based on written advice from Prof. Albert Einstein. Lamont had denied under oath ever being a Communist but refused all other questions. Sen. Langer made the main speech against citing Lamont, arguing that McCarthy had no authority to ask a private citizen such questions. After the citation vote, Lamont commented:

"In voting to cite me for contempt, the U.S. Senate has unfortunately failed to recognize that I was correctly upholding the First Amendment and the separation of powers in refusing to answer Sen. McCarthy's improper questions. It is regrettable that the Senate has decided to stand with McCarthy against the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. In yielding to McCarthy's pressure here, the Senate has missed an excellent opportunity to help curb the excesses of the McCarthy committee and lay down proper limitations for Congressional investigations.

"Eventually even Sen. McCarthy and his investigating committee must conform to the American Constitution. Towards the achievement of this end, I am determined to fight my case through to the U.S. Supreme Court where the last hope of preserving America's tradition of democracy now lies. As for my future, no personal sacrifice can be too great for carrying on the battle against the enemies of democracy."

Unger and Shadowitz also said they would fight through the courts to defend their position. The U.S. Supreme Court already has before it a First Amendment test case involving United Electrical Workers secy.-treas. Julius Emspak; also in the courts is a First Amendment case involving writer Harvey O'Connor's challenge of McCarthy.

Do we want it this way?

Brooks Atkinson, author of the following letter published in the N.Y. Times *Aug. 16, is the noted drama critic of that paper. During the war he served for some years as* NYT *correspondent in China and the U.S.S.R.*

To the Editor of the N.Y. **Times**:

We can vote in this country. This is doubtless the principal source of our liberty. There is freedom of speech for citizens willing to take the consequences.

In many respects, however, both the administrative and legislative branches of the Government show a compulsion toward totalitarian attitudes and practices;

The Government refuses passports to citizens it does not like.

It blocks the free exchange of ideas by denying visas to eminent European scientists and writers who have been invited by American citizens to attend professional conferences here.

It has repudiated the scientist who led the world in the construction of the atom bomb because he is not a standardized man.

It maintains an organization of investigators who collect, among other items, facts concerning the newspaper reading habits of citizens and the mail that goes into their homes.

It employs political informers.

It blackmails citizens into informing on each other.

It summons citizens before Government committees to answer for their personal ideas, associations, friends and their relatives.

Government committees presume to give absolution to citizens who confess their political sins and promise not to violate the committees' party line in the future.

The Government has permitted a Senator to set himself up as public prosecutor.

It has accused the national foundations of underwriting revolution, threatened them with tax reprisals and denied them equal rights to defend themselves.

It sacks or rusticates foreign service officers who do not parrot the party line at home.

It tries to consolidate itself in power by denouncing its predecessors in office as traitors.

I wonder if Americans really want it this way.

—**Brooks Atkinson.**
New York, Aug. 9, 1954.

AFL fires Edwards: he's too 'pro-labor'

FIVE years ago the American Fedn. of Labor hired Frank Edwards, a radio newscaster of 25 years' experience, at a $35,000 salary for a Monday-through-Friday news and commentary over the Mutual network. In 1952 Edwards was named in a newspaper and magazine editors' poll among the country's three best radio commentators. He was so effective, as he put it, in "revealing to the American public, month after month, the shameless fashion in which corporations have been taking billions of dollars' worth of tax deductions . . . where they get the buildings and you get the bills," that the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers last year attacked him in several pages of its periodical. Edwards predicted:

"I suspect the NAM will be even more unhappy in the near future, when I reveal the facts and figures on other procedures by which the public is left holding the bag."

This month Edwards himself was left holding the bag: AFL pres. George Meany fired him, according to the N.Y. **Times** (8/13), for "slanting the news in favor of labor." The **Times** said Meany felt that in "mixing" the line between news and opinion "Mr. Edwards was weighting his program on the side of labor generally and the AFL particularly."

Replaced by AFL staff member Harry Flannery on the $500,000 program, Edwards threatened a lawsuit.

ONE MAN'S CAKE . . .: The Barre (Vt.) Daily **Times** commented editorially Aug. 14:

"[Meany] is right, to be sure, in saying that Edwards mixed opinion with news without differentiating between them. But many listeners understood that and were happy that it should be part of the AFL program. . . . The question arises whether Edwards was not offering the public a program which fairly represented AFL opinions. If it did not, the public was being slightly fooled. . . . The mixture of news and comment by Frank Edwards (which we accepted pure and simple as such, with AFL sponsorship) constituted in our radio news fare a strong antidote to the mixed news and opinion by another radio commentator heard earlier in the evening. Strictly on the theory that one man's cake is another man's poison, antidote is exactly the word for Edwards' broadcast. . . . Certainly one could tell . . . he was not working for the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. . . ."

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NEW YORK

Teen-age killers in the streets—and why: Mickey Spillane culture sweeps the nation

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK was depicted in news stories last week as a city of rampaging terror, with youngsters suddenly grown into monsters making every street an ambush at nightfall.

For once grim reality caught up with the most purple descriptions of feature writers—but lost in the lurid details were these facts: New York, in this respect at least, is typically American. The depravity is nation-wide, and has roots so deep and branches so wide as to hold a menace for the country and perhaps the world.

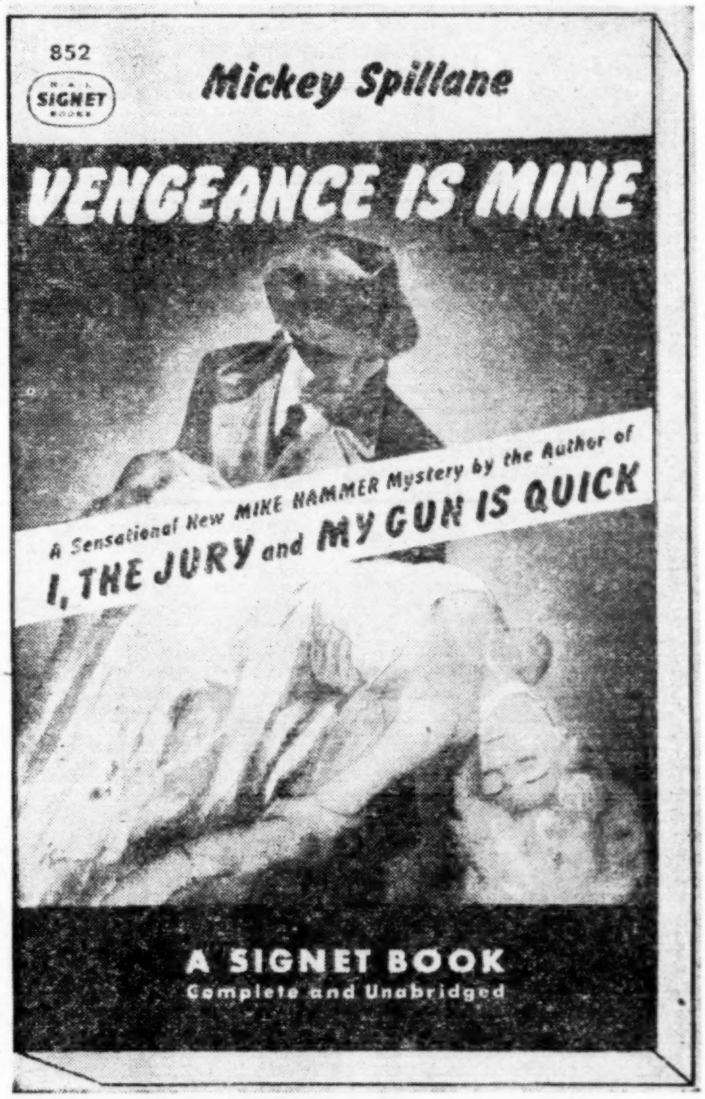
KILLS FOR THRILLS: These were the fruits of depravity in Williamsburgh, Brooklyn: four youths, 15-18, killed two men by kicking, beating, burning and drowning, beat three others and horsewhipped two girls. Newspapers headlined the boys as "thrill-killers," plastered the story over every front page, and described the 18-year-old leader Jack Koslow's maniacal glee.

At 2:30 a.m. last Monday Joel Ewen, 19-year-old Port Washington student, had taken his girl home, was waiting for a bus at Flatbush and Foster Avs., Brooklyn. Three youths in a car offered him a lift. When he turned them down, they dragged him in, began to beat him. The leader shouted as he pummeled Ewens: "I'm Koslow, the thrill-killer."

The three drank beer while resting between bouts of beating Ewens. Hours later they tossed him out, spattered with blood, at Caton Av. and E. 21st St. At 5 a.m. Ewens, touring with police, spotted his assailants still drinking beer in their car at a Flatbush corner. The oldest was 23.

JUNIOR GANGSTERS: In the Bronx, Michael Ciccolela, 17, was shot by a member of a youthful gang, the "Young Sinners" at war with the "Imperial Hoods." (Ciccolela, mistaken for an Imperial Hood, is in critical condition at Fordham Hospital.) As the war went on Young Sinner Howard Gottenberg, 16, was arrested for allegedly pressing a sawed-off .30 caliber rifle into the stomach of Paul Weber, 18. He pressed the trigger apparently with intention to kill. The rifle failed to go off.

Aside from the high rate of run-of-the mill violence for money, the senseless crimes mounted alarmingly, apparently stimulated rather than deterred by the wide publicity given "thrill-killing," the calls for stiff punishment, and the sense of shock and fear that gripped the city.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RAPE, MURDER, MAYHEM . . . 25c A SHOT

CASUAL STUFF: Over the week-end Melvin Gold, 46, of the Bronx, was reading his newspaper on the IRT Lexington Av. express. A man he hadn't noticed came up to him, cursed him, punched his eye so badly he had to be treated for lacerations at Columbus Hospital. The assailant fled from the train at Union Sq.

Early Sunday morning, two couples started on a stroll across the pedestrian ramp at East River Drive. They spotted Robert McCann drinking beer on the sidewalk. Mrs. Denise Bera remarked in French that the scene reminded her of Paris where people drink quietly along the Seine. McCann said: "Why don't you get out of here," then whistled. Two other men came running and attacked the ladies' escorts. A police car cruised by. Police seized the two men involved in the actual attack, fired warning shots over McCann's head as he dived into the river and disappeared.

PUNK-NETTING: The organized thuggery and random brutality was apparent all over the country. For example, at Chanute Air Base in Rantoul, Ill., 30 Air Force men were held as part of a terrorists' gang who tattooed their bodies with a mark for every new assault committed. Some 145 others "of all nationalities" were held because of suspicious tattoo marks and the possession of switch-blade knives.

Murder, rape and gunplay filled news columns from one end of the country to the other. The press and police had only one answer for it: more gunplay and more terror. Week-end night courts were jammed, with judges sitting in relays. "Hoodlum hunts" were reported in headlines like the **Daily News'** (8/23): "2-DAY CLEAN-UP NETS 641 PUNKS."

"LOITERERS" NABBED: Teen-agers were suspect; young people strolling in Times Sq. were being seized in an indiscriminate dragnet, tallied as "potential criminals." Thousands in N. Y. alone (and many more in other cities) had been given workhouse sentences for "loitering." If thugs missed a stroller, the police wouldn't.

The N. Y. **Post** said of the round-ups: "Instead of a war on crime it's a skirmish against misdemeanors. The dragnet has bagged a regiment of beggars."

"I WAS JUST SITTING": Though the hue and cry was raised against teen-agers, last week-end's haul from the parks and squares brought in men of an average age of 50. Caught in the police net were an 80-year-old man, a paralytic, a man suffering from tuberculosis. Another man well on in years told the court: "I wasn't doing anybody any harm. It was in the middle of the day and I was just sitting in the park. I got taken in."

It seemed a war against the victims of misfortune in the city: the homeless, the ill, the idle and the indigent. Police said the new "tough" policy had produced results, but every one of the crimes reported in this article—and many more of the most senseless brutality—have occurred after the drive began in the course of the city administration's lobby for more appropriations for the police.

A SOIL SAMPLING: It used to be a newspaper maxim that every summer when the news was skimpy a crime wave could be found. But this open warfare was clearly more than hot-weather news copy. The outbreak of depravity on the part of apparently normal young men was not sudden. It had been growing for years in fertile soil.

Here is a sampling of that soil culled from a pocket-size book (one of many) available in any stationery, drug or book store: **I, the Jury,** by Mickey Spillane. Private Eye Detective Mike Hammer hands down a philosophy which could make a reformer into a lyncher:

"The law is fine. But this time I'm the law and I'm not going to be cold and impartial. . . . People. How incredibly stupid they could be sometimes. A trial by law for a killer. . . . But in the end the people have their justice. They get it through guys like me once in a while. . . . I shoot them like the mad dogs they are."

SCUM: The four young men of Williamsburgh who murdered, beat and burned men they found on park benches said in justification that they were "only trying to clean the scum off the streets." Police took the same attitude against the "scum" in their "clean-up." A judge who seemed also to be moved by Spillane was quoted anonymously in the **World-Telegram:** "I think there's only one solution: eradication."

The Spillane influence, manifesting itself on all sides in the warfare, was also dictating the fine touches of horror, compacted of pornography and murder. On the last page of **I, the Jury** is this passage:

"Her thumbs hooked in the fragile silk of the panties and pulled them down. She stepped out of them as deliberately as one coming from a bathtub. She was completely naked now. A sun-tanned goddess giving herself to her lover. With arms outstretched she walked toward me. Lightly, her tongue ran over her lips, making them glisten with passion. The smell of her was like an exhilarating perfume. Slowly, a sigh escaped her, making the hemisphere of her breasts quiver. She leaned forward to kiss me, her arms going out to encircle my neck. The roar of the .45 shook the room. Charlotte staggered back a step. . . . Slowly she looked down at the ugly swelling in her naked belly where the bullet went in. A thin trickle of blood welled out."

HEMISPHERIC SUCCESS: I, the Jury, a Signet Book published by the New American Library of World Literature Inc. by arrangement with E. P. Dutton & Co., has sold over 1,600,000 copies. It was picked by the San Francisco **Chronicle** as one of the seven best mysteries of 1947.

Clearly the roots of depravity go deeper than Mickey Spillane. In future articles the GUARDIAN will trace some of those roots, visit a night court to see what the dragnet finds, explore the solutions offered to date and the political potential for world-wide mayhem.

Growing up in America

Hershel Alt, exec. director of the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York, told a session of the 5th Intl. Congress on Mental Health at Toronto that recent investigation had shown that for various reasons 12,000,000 of the 45,000,000 children in the U. S. do not live with their natural parents.

—N. Y. Times, Aug. 19.

Sirens greet kids Sept. 13 in schools

THE Board of Education in its annual comprehensive calendar schedules only one simple ceremony to mark the opening of school, Monday, Sept. 13: a Civil Defense Siren Test.

The calendar lists all holidays and attaches a brief reminder to teachers and principals like this one under Wed., Nov. 10:

"All schools: at the close of school today send in payroll for November. MAKE SURE FEINBERG LAW SUBVERSIVE REPORT IS ATTACHED." (The emphasis is the Board's.)

BARBED WIRE: Also marking the imminence of school opening was the announcement of Asst. Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff that the Board would call in 28 teachers for political questioning as soon as the term starts, with another 150 to be called in later. Up to last June more than 200 city teachers (many with distinguished school and community records) had been dismissed or forced to resign. Last September the witch-hunt had operated so effectively that 200 newly-appointed teachers failed to show up to work.

Teachers Union legislative representative Rose Russell said in a letter to Supt. of Schools William Jansen that the new threats will cause thousands of other teachers "to don mental blinkers, seal their tongues and put barbed wire around the minds of their pupils."

In her letter Mrs. Russell asked Jansen to "act to restore sanity, integrity and intellectual liberty in our schools."

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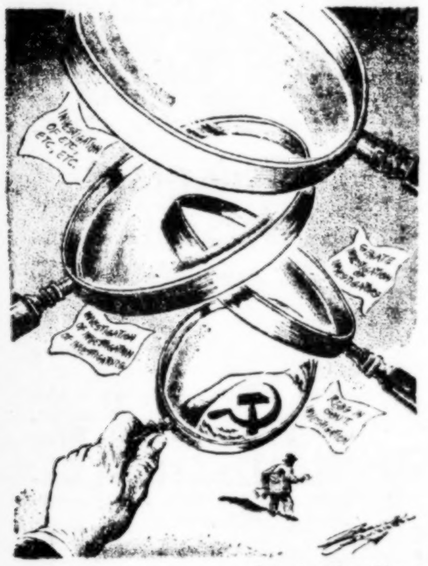
Anti-Communist law

(Continued from Page 1)

munist Party could do in a thousand years even if it advocated what it is falsely charged with doing, namely, attempting the violent overthrow of the government of the U.S."

The measure, which makes a "legislative finding" that the CP is a "conspiracy," provides that it or any successors "are not entitled to any of the rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies" and that "whatever rights, privileges and immunities which have heretofore been granted to said party or any subsidiary organization. . . are hereby terminated." Persons who "knowingly and willfully" become or remain members "shall be subject to all the provisions and penalties of the Internal Security Act of 1950. . . ."

Presumably the party as such under the law could not run candidates, hold property, possess a bank account or sue in the courts. Individual members would also lose the right to run for office, and applying for a passport, for a federal job or for a job in a defense plant would become criminal acts. In addition, some interpretations of the law held that individual members could be prosecuted for failure to register with the Justice Dept.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Los Angeles Times

"OPERATION MAGNIFICATION"

LABOR PROVISIONS: Labor unions found to be "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within three years have been actively engaged in knowingly giving aid or support to a Communist-action organization" would, under the law, be deprived of recognition by the Natl. Labor Relations Board, thus put out of business.

The "criteria" for identifying Communists (see box above) are as broad a dragnet as was ever devised.

The President, in cheerfully announcing he had signed the bill, expressed pleasure that the 83d Congress had also enacted most of the items in the original Brownell-Eisenhower package of "anti-subversive" bills. The Administration on this front lost only in its effort to legalize wire-tapping.

THE MAT IS OUT: In Washington no one knew how or when attempts at enforcement would begin. The N. Y. **Times** reported from "key government posts" that there would be no immediate round-ups nor efforts to liquidate unions, but there was no proof that the unidentified "key posts" knew what they were talking about. The **Times** added:

> "At the Dept. of Justice it was said that its 'welcome mat' was still out for any Communist-action, Communist-front, or Communist-infiltrated organization or any members to walk in and register as self-protection against rough penalties that might be imposed later."

The 14 points to thought control in the U. S.

It is easy to qualify as a candidate for punishment under the bill to outlaw the Communist Party and to put "Communist-infiltrated" unions and other organizations out of business. Contained in the measure, signed into law by President Eisenhower on Tues., Aug. 24, is a list of 14 "definitions" compiled by Rep. Martin Dies (D-Tex.), the original professional red-hunter. Anybody ever remotely connected with progressive organizations or causes comes into the scope of this dragnet; few trade union leaders could escape being tagged with one or more of the definitions, which follow:

Sec. 5. In determining membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization defined in this act or knowledge of the purpose or objective of such party or organization, the jury, under instructions from the court, shall consider evidence, if presented, as to whether the accused person:

(1) has been listed to his knowledge as a member in any book or any of the lists, records, correspondence, or any other document of the organization;

(2) has made financial contribution to the organization in dues, assessments, loans, or in any other form;

(3) has made himself subject to the discipline of the organization in any form whatsoever;

(4) has executed orders, plans, or directives of any kind of the organization;

(5) has acted as an agent, courier, messenger, correspondent, organizer, or in any other capacity in behalf of the organization;

(6) has conferred with officers or other members of the organization in behalf of any plan or enterprise of the organization;

(7) has been accepted to his knowledge as an officer or member of the organization or as one to be called upon for services by other officers or members of the organization;

(8) has written, spoken, or in any other way communicated by signal, semaphore, sign, or in any other form of communication, orders, directives or plans of the organization;

(9) has prepared documents, pamphlets, leaflets, books, or any other type of publication in behalf of the objectives and purposes of the organization;

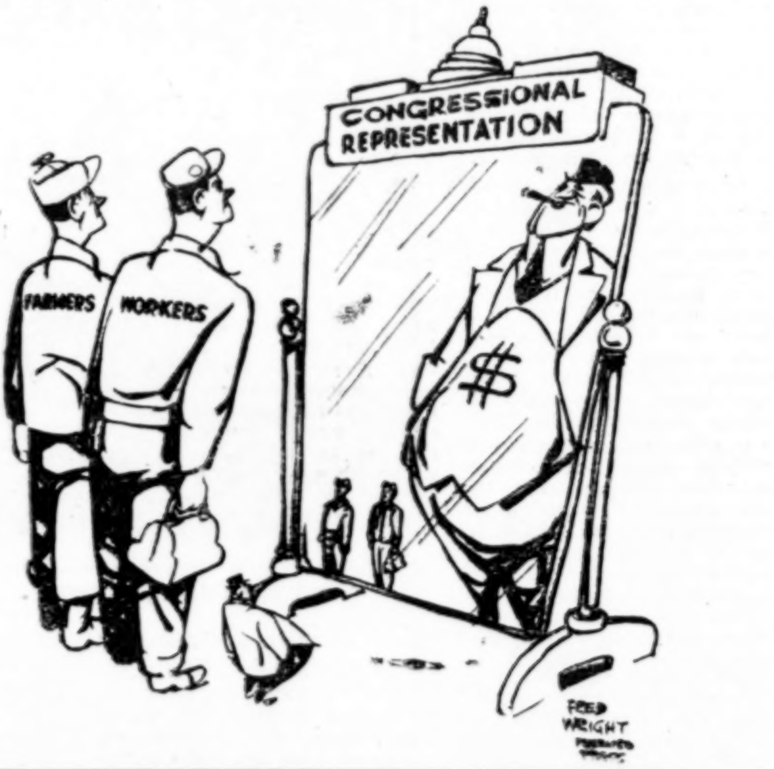
(10) has mailed, shipped, circulated, distributed, delivered, or in any other way sent or delivered to others material or propaganda of any kind in behalf of the organization;

(11) has advised, counseled, or in any other way imparted information, suggestions, recommendations to officers or members of the organization or to anyone else in behalf of the objectives of the organization;

(12) has indicated by word, action, conduct, writing, or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization;

(13) has in any other way participated in the activities, planning, actions, objectives, or purposes of the organization.

(14) The enumeration of the above subjects of evidence on membership or participation in the Communist Party or any other organization as above defined, shall not limit the inquiry into and consideration of any other subject of evidence on membership and participation as herein stated.



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CHILDREN APART—AND POORLY TRAINED?

Charges of jim-crow practices, poor teaching in N.Y. schools to be probed by Education Assn.

By Eugene Gordon

NEARLY three months ago the city Board of Education asked the Public Education Assn. to probe charges that N.Y.'s public school program provides a roost for jimcrow and inferior education for Negro and Puerto Rican children. Last month PEA said a subcommittee had been set up to work out "a plan of action."

Board pres. Arthur Levitt thinks the probe will repudiate the jimcrow charge. He and schools supt. Wililam Jansen question whether the separation of Negro from white kids in some schools should be labeled "jimcrow" or plain "segregation" owing to segregated housing. In an **Amsterdam News** interview Jansen said segregation which is "not purposeful" but accidental" or "natural" like New York's—has no ill effect on children. But while Jansen maintained that segregation is "bad in the South but all right in this city," Levitt (N. Y. **Times**, 7/14) thinks it is "our immediate concern . . . we must leave nothing undone to mitigate the evils of school segregation imposed by racial segregation."

FALLING STANDARDS: The controversy began when City College assoc. prof. of psychology Kenneth B. Clark, at the N. Y. Urban League's Negro History Week dinner last February, called for an "objective study" of the city's segregated schools to determine whether and how much "they inflict injury upon the personality development of children and also impair their ability to learn." A series of discussions arranged by the Urban League with the NAACP, United Parents Assns., United Neighborhood Houses and other groups grew into the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools. This committee last April 24, with co-operation of the Board of Education, called a conference at Harlem's New Lincoln School on "Children Apart." There Dr. Clark made these points:

- "The people of Harlem are still asking [20 years after the Mayor's Committee to Investigate Conditions in Harlem was appointed] some serious questions about the educational adequacy of their schools."
- "There is strong suggestive evidence that the educational standards and achievements of Negro children in the N. Y. C. public schools are declining."
- "According to our best source of information, there are, at most, three schools in the Harlem area with a total of no more than six classes [for intellectually gifted children, while there are] 103 classes for retarded children."
- "There is reason to believe that minority-group children have less opportunity to participate in the part-time school work 'co-operative system' sponsored by the Board of Education."

"MORE COMPLEX": Prof. Clark also declared that while Negro and Puerto Rican children are no longer faced primarily with "flagrant racial discrimination, inferior physical facilities, gerrymandering of school district lines and other forms of overt exclusion," schools reflect today "the more complex and subtle social and psychological problems inherent in segregated education."

These problems involve "the degree to which stereotyped assumptions concerning the inferiority or limited intellectual potentialities of large groups of children lead to lowering of educational standards in the schools they are required to attend; the degree to which these conditions, in fact, depress the educational aspirations and level of performance of these children, thereby permanently impairing their ability to learn. Under these circumstances, these children not only feel inferior but are inferior in academic achievement."

Thus, by virtue of inadequate elementary education, thousands of Harlem children "cannot compete academically with other children on the high school level." The child thinks he himself is to blame because he has come to believe the fiction of "his alleged inferiority."

THE OBLIGATION: Levitt, representing the Board of Education at the conference, said he didn't believe "there is a Negro child who attends a predominately Negro school who gets an equal education"; said the Board was closing Wadleigh High School, 57-year-old all-girl P. S. 133. The **Amsterdam News** said the reason for the school's disfavor among Harlem parents was "that it is in an all-Negro neighborhood and attended by practically all Negro girls—a few Puerto Rican girls and one or two white girls," and that "this is not integration."

To Jansen's assertion that segregated schools resulting from jimcrow housing is "natural" or "accidental" and therefore less harmful than the South's legal jimcrow system, Dr. Clark has this answer: the effect of segregated housing "in developing de facto segregated schools" being clear, it is the obligation of men in Jansen's position "to point out the ways in which larger social problems interfere with their ability to do an effective educational job."

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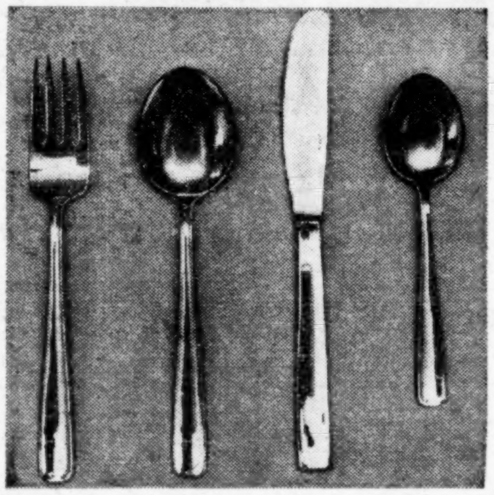

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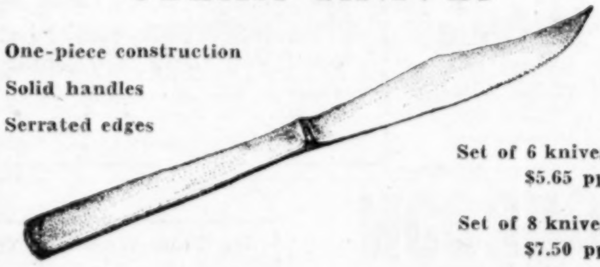

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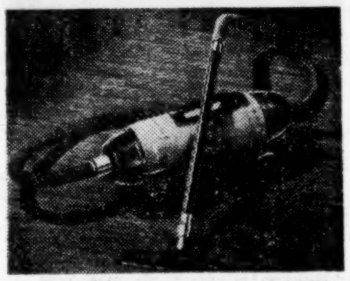

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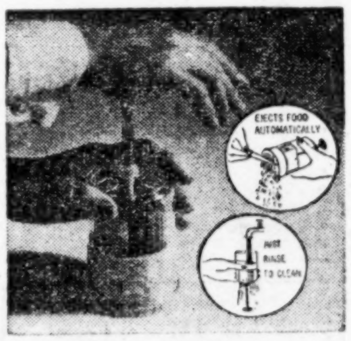

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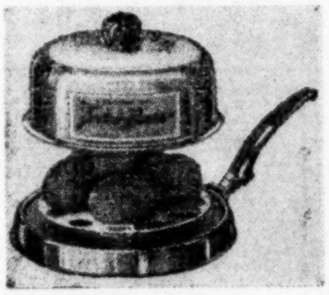

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BOOKS

Birth of an 'enigma' — 'East-West Passage'

By Cedric Belfrage

OF COURSE we all hate Russian communists as much as or more than anyone else (as what FBI-fearing American doesn't?); so it is disconcerting to be confronted by Dorothy Brewster, recently retired Associate Professor of English at Columbia University, with the documented history of Russia-hatred here and in Britain since Elizabethan times.

History is highly subversive and is quite properly being investigated these days by Senator McCarthy with a view to its elimination. What is disconcerting is that history shows exactly the same patterns of propaganda about the Russians to have been circulated here a century before the Russians became communists.

100 YEARS OF "BROODING": In her book **East-West Passage*** —which is too subversively true to find any American publisher—Miss Brewster recalls that in 1839 a Marquis de Custine published, after a Russian visit of less than three months, a mishmash called **Russia in 1839.** A new translation of it was brought out here in 1951, with an introduction by former U. S. Ambassador to Moscow Bedell Smith, as "evidence" that the Kremlin was already "brooding" a half century ago. In our time of better-organized propaganda not one reviewer rises to rebut the Marquis' absurdities. But in the 1840's the **Quarterly Review** marshaled 50 pages of documentation to show up his inventions and hallucinations, commenting that he seemed to have seen a spy in every acquaintance and never got in a carriage without fearing the driver was a cop who would take him to Siberia.

"TOO ASIATIC": From that time until now, Russia has been for Anglo-U. S. propagandists a special target of literary frauds and free-for-all nonsense which could hardly be too outlandish to get published, although it waxed and waned in ratio to the political propaganda needs of the moment. When acute Russia-hatred was needed by Britain in the Crimean War period, "a Russian nobleman" who could not give his name for fear of reprisals bought out an expose of the horrors of Russian life. This was shown to be distorted excerpts from Gogol's satire **Dead Souls** stolen by a Pole—but even then another writer repeated it to establish his theme that

> ". . . if the Russians be not vanquished and driven back now, 70 millions of slaves may at no distant day be prompt and apt instruments in imposing a bondage like their own on the civilized world."

An Englishwoman in a book on a visit to Russia published here in 1855 thought it would "take centuries for such a people to be in a condition to appreciate the blessings of freedom and perhaps they are too Asiatic ever properly to do so." In the 1880's when Dostoevsky was first published here, critic Lafcadio Hearn started the babble about the Russian Soul, "everywhere manifesting symptoms strangely akin to madness." In that period others took pot-shots at Russian "free love," cultural backwardness, and "Nihilist" excesses which added up to the concept of "the Russian enigma." Writing in 1891 about the prospects for "Americanizing Siberia," and later in 1900, Henry Adams concluded:

> "Russia is impenetrable and any intelligent man will deal with her better, the less closely he knows her. . . . Of course no one believes a Russian under any circumstances, but I am always interested in speculating why an Oriental tells one lie rather than another."

WE CAN BE FRIENDS: Yet parallelling this Niagara of drivel have been the soberer writings, throughout the century, of those who insisted that the facts about Russia could be discovered by anyone making an intelligent attempt; that there was no reason why America and Russia should be enemies, and many common attributes—their vastness and "frontier" consciousness, their slave and serf systems to be uprooted, their town meetings, their variety of languages, their popular democratic habits of life—which should make them friends.

The tradition of the outstretched hand based on stressing the likenesses, not the differences, was solidly set by Walt Whitman. Isabel Hapgood, one of the pioneer American translators of Russian authors, returned in 1895 from two years in Russia commenting—as she would have to do today—that "I am told I must abuse Russia if I wish to be popular in America." But for sweet truth's sake she was compelled to report that Russian of all classes had "a friendly warmth whose influence is felt as soon as one crosses the frontier."

HOT AND COLD FANTASIES: Now as for more than a century, the fraudulent distortion of Russia rises to fever-pitch when Anglo-U.S. propagandists require it so for their political and military ends. Thus the British critic V. S. Pritchett, who in 1942 joked about the "Russian Soul" idiocies, wrote in 1948:

> "It is evident from our post-war contacts with them that the Russians are as Dostoevsky drew them: a people living by wont in a natural atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust and consumed by fantasies."

Miss Brewster makes this comment in her sensible, delightfully written book—the end result of half a lifetime's research:

> "Perhaps all who were not consumed by fantasies were killed defending Stalingrad."

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* *EAST-WEST PASSAGE: A Study in Literary Relationships, by Dorothy Brewster. Allen & Unwin, London, 21s.; (obtainable $4.75 from Holliday Bookshop, 119 E. 54th St., N.Y.C. 22.)*